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tiny communities, some of them designating "villages" of only four or five houses. For numbers of peasants hidden away in the valleys or on mountain farms, the only contact with the larger world comes through visits to the nearest market town—which itself may count only a thousand souls. The peasant is thus effectively isolated. The American Financial Adviser to the Government has estimated the average *annual* income of the Haitian at $20 a head.[8] The smallness of the sum limits the material contacts of the peasant with the outside world. Rural schools are few,[9] consequently all but a small percentage of the rising generation is growing up illiterate. Lack of mental stimulus completes the isolation. Bound to the soil by the need of wresting a livelihood from rocky, gullied, and increasingly unproductive land, harassed by ill-health, and governed by a group whose own security would be threatened by improving his lot, it is little wonder that the peasant is unprogressive, or that he struggles along at a bare subsistence level.[10]

Haiti is rural and agricultural, then, with a population density of about 250 per square mile. The people, living without machine industry and with very little foreign trade, must get their living from 10,000 square miles, not of lush tropical soil but of rocky, mountainous country which, after a century and a half of poor farming, has been stripped of most of its forests and much of its topsoil.

A glance at a relief map of the West Indies would show clearly that the islands are the tops of a mountain range, whose lowlands were long since submerged by the Caribbean Sea. Looked at from above, Haiti seems a jumbled mass of mountains running in all directions.[11] Down their slopes flow many small streams which after

8. Dr. W. W. Cumberland, cited by Paul H. Douglas, "The American Occupation of Haiti," *Political Science Quarterly*, XLII (1927), 258.

9. The average monthly salary of $13 (until recently only $6) for rural schoolteachers would not draw many wide-awake young men, even if schoolhouses existed for classes. The salary, indeed, is so small that only inferior persons are attracted, often men who know little more than their pupils. See chap. XV, 3.

10. Mrs. Blair Niles, in *Black Haiti* (New York, 1926), pp. 185–186, tells of a prisoner who preferred to remain in jail rather than be freed. "When he gets out," she quotes the officer as saying, "he'll be in again. You'll see. Here he gets nine cents a day for food, an' that's more than the average Haitian ever has."

11. One can well believe the story (told by Ebenezer D. Bassett, *Haiti* [Washington, 1893], p. 3) of the English admiral who, asked by George III for a description of the island, crumpled a sheet of paper, threw it on the table, and said: "Sire, Haiti looks like that." The same tale is told of Puerto Rico, with a Spanish admiral speaking to Queen Isabella.

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lished in many parts of the country. Attendance was fair for a few days, then rapidly declined. It is obviously a task requiring patience, persistence, originality, and tact on the part of the teacher to keep the students interested enough in school to make them attend regularly, for certainly the parents, who themselves have had no education, will not force their children to attend. On the contrary, the average peasant parent feels it much more important for his children to be at work in the fields, doing something useful, than to waste time learning to read and write—accomplishments which peasants have done without from time immemorial. Forced attendance is clearly out of the question. Obviously, too, at the small wages paid to country teachers the necessary qualities of personality are uncommon, to say the least. Five thousand men and women with the consecration of missionaries would be required even to begin the work of general education.

A practically insoluble problem, given current attitudes, is that of the language to be used in rural schools, assuming that these are built. The only official language of Haiti is French; the only language understood by the masses is Créole, which in spite of its French origin is as different from that tongue as Dutch from German. Now every Haitian, high and low, knows Créole, so that the question immediately arising is: Why should not the rural teachers teach in Créole? The answer involves every sort of inward prejudice, yearning, and instilled doctrine. The teacher is almost sure to be struggling up to the élite class, and to require him to deny himself the luxury of speaking French (to him almost a patent of nobility) would be heart-rending. Likewise, he would have his "good" reason for teaching school in French: the unity of the country demands a single language; all schoolbooks are in French, none in Créole; and Créole has no literature, nor even an accepted spelling. The fact remains that except in rare instances all schoolteachers use French to their pupils, and not one peasant out of a hundred can even guess what is being said in that language.

Assuming that schools were available, as well as trained teachers willing to speak the folk language, the next problem would be the curriculum. The whole tradition of élite education is literary, not practical. Teachers trained in this tradition might teach Racine and Montaigne, but not soil conservation and new methods of planting. Peasants with a knowledge of French literature would, of course, be

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871 no longer peasants. What good would a literary education do them? Yet those who have advocated a technical or practical curriculum have been met with a perfect storm of opposition. Such training would, it has been argued, merely augment and perpetuate the social stratification of the country; moreover, since no Haitian élite have been technically trained nor had any desire to be, the teaching of the whole rural mass would have to be in the hands of aliens—white Americans, more than likely. Once again, it is a matter of current attitudes: the rural teacher keen to rise out of the masses into the upper class would, if the curriculum were technical, be required to abandon the gratifying display of his literary knowledge, and devote his talents instead to the manual skills from which he had been trying to escape.

871 875 It is hardly necessary to mention the insuperable problem of training the teachers and persuading them to dedicate their lives to rural education: to live away from the amenities of urban life, at a minute salary, among an ignorant peasantry. Only the devotion of rare patriots would prompt such complete self-sacrifice, even if the government had a tithe of the funds necessary for educating teachers for their jobs and paying them a living wage.

175 871 A glance at Haitian history will also help to explain the sorry state of education. In 1804, of course, there was not a single school in the country, and Dessalines was too much preoccupied with other affairs to give the matter a thought; besides, being illiterate himself, he may well have thought learning unimportant, or at least, embarrassing. Both Christophe and Pétion showed an exemplary zeal for education, although the results accomplished by them seem small enough. They were both impressed by the Lancasterian method then in vogue in England, and modeled the few schools they sponsored upon it. Christophe, always an Anglophile, established five "*grandes écoles nationales*" at Cap-Henry, Port-de-Paix, Sans Souci, Gonaïves, and Saint-Marc, with English masters at the head of each.[12] Pétion established at Port-au-Prince a Lycée Haïtien in 1816, and assigned an "instructeur" in every parish. The curriculum of the Lycée—ancient and modern languages, rhetoric, logic, ethics, elements of mathematics, ancient and modern history, geography, and drawing—is an indication of the limited scope of the program. It was purely

12. Placide Justin, *Histoire politique et statistique de l'île d'Hayti, Saint-Domingue*, pp. 534–535.